1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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taina boiled and mashed, are mixed in equal quantities of corn-meal paste to make chicha, or to bake in cakes. They are also, when ripe, boiled, mashed into a paste, and mixed with water into a gruel. This is drank under the name of *mish'-la*. Maize is raised in considerable quantities, and this really involves four-fifths of all their agricultural labor. The corn is of a variety of colors; white, yellow, red, purple, blue, and almost perfectly black. Sometimes the ear, rarely more than six or seven inches long, is of a uniform color, but more generally the grains are of two or more colors. It is boiled green and eaten from the cob, and is thus considered a great delicacy. It is, when ripe, ground for all other purposes. The process of grinding is rude and simple in the extreme. If possible, a stone, three feet long and two wide, with a flat upper surface, is procured. In default of this, a broad slab of wood is used. For this purpose, a piece cut from one of the plank-like buttresses of the Ceiba tree is procured, and one side dressed smooth. The remainder of this primitive mill, is a stone, about a foot or fourteen inches long, a few inches less in width and three or four inches thick. One side must be regularly curved. The corn, soaked over night to soften it, is placed on the flat surface and the stone last mentioned is rocked on its edge, from side to side. This is always done by the women. When the corn is sufficiently ground, the paste is put into an iron pot and boiled to mush. If it is intended to make cakes, a part of the raw paste is mixed with an equal quantity of boiled ripe plantain paste, to sweeten it. It is then rolled in plantain leaf and baked in the ashes. When the paste is boiled, sometimes a part of it is separated, thinned to the consistency of gruel, and drunk hot. If it is intended to make chicha for the road, the thick mush is at once mixed with an equal part of ripe plantain paste as before, and tied up in leaves. This will keep sweet for two or three days, but gradually fermentation takes place, and at a week old, it has a not unpleasant sweetish acid taste. When ready for drinking, it is dissolved in cold water to a thin gruel. The taste for it is easily acquired, and I admit, I became very fond of it. It certainly does possess intoxicating properties, but I cannot conceive how any civilized stomach could accommodate a sufficient quantity to produce exhilaration. Still I have seen Indians very happy from its effects. But since I desire these notes to be believed, I do not dare to state the quantity I have seen one of these fellows drink. Were only half the truth told, it would appear incredible. The method of preparing the chicha for use in the house is slightly different. The paste is thinned at once, while yet hot. The plantain paste, also thinned, is poured into the earthen jar with it, and sufficient water is added to bring it to the proper thinness for drinking. To produce rapid fermentation another process is yet necessary, which I saw once at Dipuk on the Uron. A young girl (young girls only, with sound teeth perform this operation,) having previously rinsed her mouth with a little water, sat down on a low stool, with a pile of tender raw corn beside her, and a big calabash in her lap. She chewed, or rather bit the grains from the

252 [243] [412] [462] 273

usually from the *poro-poro* tree[16] (*Cochlospermum hibiscoides*). A vine called the *bejuco de fuego*, or *brutʃ-a'* in Boruca, is used as horizontal bars, and to tie the fences, when the purse does not permit wire. The vine lasts at least a year without having to be replaced. One of the *manzanas* is always made into a *milpa*, or corn patch. The rest is planted with rice (*Oryza sativa* L.), sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.), plantains (*Musa paradisiaca* L.), yuca (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl.). The writer could not find the sweet variety which is *Esculenta* Crantz, although Pittier lists this in his vocabulary as *ínbah*,[17] fiampí (*Dioscorea trifida* L.), cacao (*Theobroma Cacao* L.), some bananas (*Musa sapientum* L.), and tobacco (*Nicotiana Tabacum* L.).

Besides these ordinary foodstuffs, there is generally one or more of the following items: coffee (*Coffea* spp.), oranges (*Citrus sinensis* [L.] Osbeck), mangoes (*Mangifera indica* L.), pejibaye (*Guilielma utilis* Oerst.), both with and without thorns, papayas (*Carica Papaya* L.), alligator pears (*Persea americana* Mill.), pineapples (*Ananas comosus* [L.] Merr.), yucca (*Yucca elephantipes* Regel), *tiquisque* (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), tree cotton (generally, *Gossypium peruvianum* Cav.), colored cotton (see p. 16), and at times, cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.).

The rice planted is the upland variety, and is sown after the ground has been subjected to the usual slash and burn method common to all *Boruca* cultivation. There are some twelve different varieties of corn, including a specimen with apparent jet black[18] kernels and a deep purple cob.[19] This is used as a rule, only for making chicha. Deep yellow, white, white and yellow, white-yellow-red, red, red-orange, and purple corn are also grown. The purple, like the black, is used generally for chicha. All the corn grown by the *Boruca* can be classified as *Zea Mays* L. and is divisible into types. The most common kind is known as "Tropical

[16] *Cochlospermum vitifolium* (Willd.) Spreng, according to Standley, 1937, p. 713; and *Cochlospermum hibiscoides*, according to Pittier, 1941, p. 68. Also see Pittier, 1908, p. 129.

[17] See Pittier, 1941, p. 45.

[18] There is no true black corn. Purple always appears mixed with black.

[19] In Guatemala, especially in the west, black corn is used to eat, that is, to make tortillas, or in any other

243 flint-corn," and the other as "dent corn." The various colors are secondary characteristics, and cannot be classified as distinct specimens.[20] The bean preferred is a variety
244 (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.) found, in Costa Rica, only among the *Boruca*.[21] It is a pole bean, and is red with large white spots.

241 The Indians visit their farms daily, leaving
[512] the village early each morning and returning about four or five in the afternoon. They take with them a lunch usually consisting of
[262] one or two items including either a tamale called *tʃari-kɔ*, which is made of dried green plantains, or chicha made from corn. The
[462] primary clearing of the forest to make the field is done by both men and women. The felled trees are burned in the dry season, and from then on, only the women, often assisted by the children, do the work.

245 In the village, and often on the savannas, guavas (*guayabos*) (*Psidium Guajava* L.), *Inga* (guavas) (*Inga spectabilis* [Vahl] Willd.), Spanish plums, *jocotes* (*Spondias purpurea* L.), and nances (*Byrsonima crassifolia* [L.] DC.) are found. These trees, although apparently not cultivated today, may well have been so in ancient times.

Gathering and Cultivating Methods. The agricultural implements of the present-
412 day *Boruca* are almost completely borrowed
[177] from the *ladino*. The common tools are broad machetes and *macanas*, which have possibly evolved from a digging stick, and are made with a wooden shaft or handle and a small iron flat-edged blade at one end. This is used for digging holes or even cutting roots in the field. Spades and an instrument called a *cuchillo*, which is a long knife or machete, are also common.

243 The women open holes for sowing, using a
[462] long pole with a point at one end. The seeds are carried in a gourd (see p. 19) in one hand, and sown with the other. Ordinarily

form, as well as to make chicha. It is particularly prized, along with other colored ears, as ritual offerings to the saints or to ancient gods.

[20] The writer thanks don Jorge Leon of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Food Production Division, San José de Costa Rica, for the above information.

[21] The Boruca bean is also known in Guatemala, particularly in the west, where it is called *pinto*.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949

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Boruca

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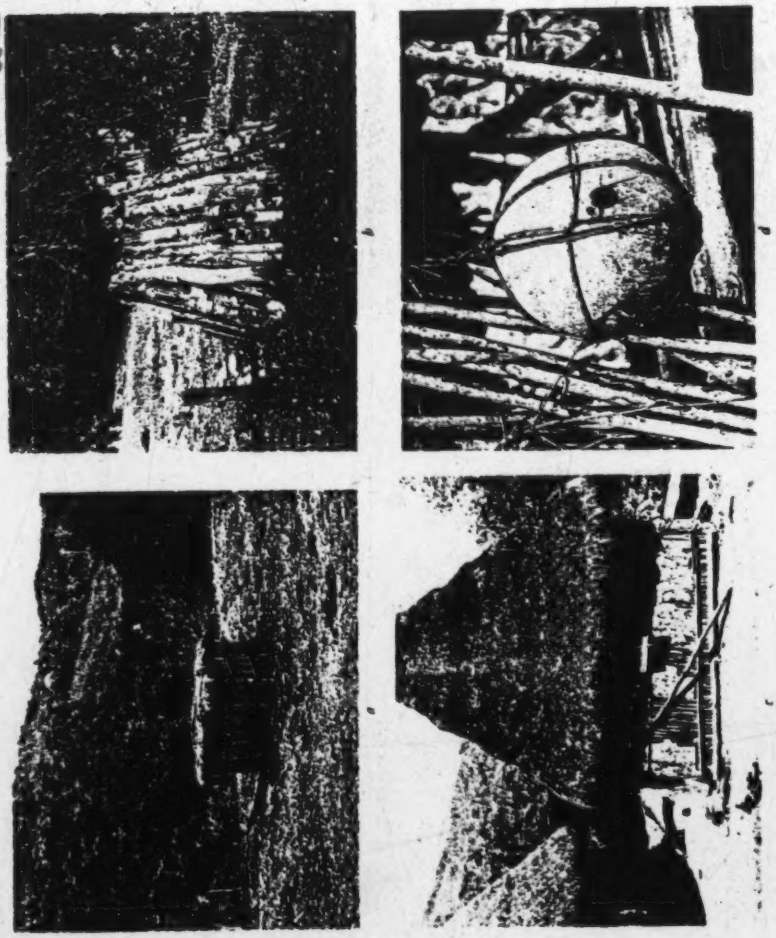

6, A, Two types of chicken coops. c, Vertical pole construction with spots of *bijirayar* and hanging "nest" for setting hen. d, Domestication of bees (hive made from a gourd).

[p. 54]

243 the crop is gathered only by the women and [462] children, but rice is gathered also by the men. For this purpose, an implement made of cow horn and metal with a fiber string is used. The 413 horn portion serves as a handle, fitting into the 243 palm of the hand while the metal part is sharpened as a knife, and protrudes between the index and the third finger. The string goes over the thumb to help steady the whole. [177] This implement (see fig. 3, *c*) may have been borrowed from the Chiriquíans (i.e., the people from Chiriquí, Panamá, who formerly had homesteaded much of this area), and who use a similar tool, or it may be a local *Boruca* inspiration. The cutters are frequently decorated with lineal designs and initials (see fig. 3, *c*). The cutting of the rice is done with the right hand, the left being used to hold the plant. As with all other products, however, [462] only the women and children bring the rice in from the fields, piling it in large baskets called *habas* in Spanish (see p. 15).

249 **Sugar, its Manufacture.** Sugar is extracted 417 from sugar cane in a very primitive fashion (see fig. 3, *d*). A tree with a knot is picked, and the knot hollowed out. About a foot or so distant, a forked portion of tree is placed erect, and one end of a hewn thick plank, slightly indented in the center, is rested in the fork with the other end against the live tree. A long pole is inserted in the knot hole, and a banana leaf is placed between the plank and the fork. Cane is put between the pole and the plank. One person holds and pushes one end of the cane and another pulls and receives it, while a third pumps the pole up and down. The cane is twisted to extract more juice as it is pulled through the presser. The juice runs down the plank, the leaf serving as a canal to guide the liquid into a vessel placed on the ground. When the pressing is over, the juice is boiled until an unrefined sugar remains.

231 **Domestic Animals.** As a rule, a family possesses a few chickens, some pigs, and an ox. The only one of these creatures which are given any semblance of shelter are the chickens, which, at night, are put in small houses (see figs. 4, *a*, *b*, *c*—see p. 23). In some households, there are dogs, which are used for hunting, and occasionally cats and birds. The birds are generally kept as pets, although at times they are raised for food.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P 12(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
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Cabecar

262 241 (*Phaseolus lunatus* L.), a mottled bean, a kidney bean, as well as squash and pumpkins of diverse sort.[66] In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, rice is becoming steadily more popular today in comparison with the past century when it was not raised at all.[67] It has, however, no indigenous name as have the citrus and the members of the banana (*Musa* spp.) family. Sugar cane is rare and is not used in other form than masticated for the juice. The alligator pear and some orange and West Indian lime trees are seen. None of these are planted on a large scale and the citrus seeds, in the Caribbean area at least, are usually dried for propagating purposes by storing them over the household fire (*see* Furnishings). On the Pacific slope and in the Talamanca Plain, garlic, onions, and in particular among the Cabécar of Ujarrás, other truck garden vegetables are grown. In this last region, coffee is [245] [272] [439] raised as a cash crop but is seldom used personally. Rice and tobacco are also cultivated and sold on the Pacific side.

262 Among the Talamancan peoples maize is of secondary importance as a foodstuff and is [243] [273] [231] raised primarily for making a fermented drink, chicha (*see* Beverages), which is also prepared (and often preferred) from yuca, *pejibaye*, and plantains, or is fed to the hogs. Only occasionally is it eaten (*see* Food Preparation). It is interesting to note that from the earliest historical times this inferior position of maize as an aliment made an impression on the Spaniards who had been accustomed to the importance of this grain in indigenous diets since their first glimpse at Mexico. In an account written in 1697 by Fray Francisco de [175] San José concerning the Térrabas, Cavécares (Cabécares), and Talamancas (Bribri), we find, for instance, the following statement: "The provisions of the first three nations are few and very little maize. . . ." [68] In all early

[137] have a *pejibaye* without thorns, although the Guatuso have a name for this. The Chirripó are famous for the seedless variety.

[66] Stone, 1956.

[67] For a more complete list and the indigenous names *see* Cultivated Food List.

[68] *See* Gabb, 1875, p. 522.

[68] Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 373. ". . . Los bastimentos de las tres primeras naciones son pocos y el maíz poquísimo. . . ."

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262 reports, mention is continually made of tubers, especially yucas, and of the *pejibaye*, whereas maize is cited not because of its significance as an Indian food but because it was something familiar to the conquerors.[69] There is reason [177] to suspect that its use by the Talamancan peoples came as a result of Mexican colonists in relatively recent pre-Columbian times.[70]

243 On the Caribbean side, maize is planted in small quantity throughout the year with the general exception of the months of February and March. However, the Indians have been known to utilize even these two months. The maize ears show a variety of colors and are very seldom solid white.

241 In addition to these edible products, a little tobacco, one or two cotton plants which thrive in spite of the rains, at times *barbasco* (*see* Fishing) and, in upper Talamanca and Chirripó, the palm used for roofing are cultivated by most families near their dwellings. These plants are not removed as are the root crops, etc.

231 **Domestic Animals.** Besides the dog, which is found in all Indian dwellings, the pig is the most important domestic animal. His commercial worth is noted in the earliest reports of the conquerors (*see* Trade), and as an economic asset, he has not fallen in value. In a sense he serves as a bank account, to be sold [454] in case of emergency because of sickness or some other immediate need. On the Caribbean slope, wild peccaries are trained from birth to follow man as a dog does and to live in the household. Sometimes a semicircular pen of [417] sticks is built against the inside wall of the dwelling for the animal. Other breeds of pigs are scarce except on the Pacific side where the school has imported domestic swine.

Chickens are found in many households but [417] not in all. They are enclosed at night in small houses built of poles tied with vines (fig. 3, *d*), or, as is usual on the Pacific side, roost in trees. Cats and turkeys are rare. Strangely enough, the turkey is almost never seen in the Pacific region, where the weather is drier and

[69] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 24. In a report of 1692 to the Bishop of Nicaragua on the state of the missions in Talamanca, we find the following in connection with food the Franciscan father had to eat: ". . . su alimento común es una vevida que hacen de raices y hiervas molidas, y en muy pocas

[See category 116, End Plate 2 - ANALYST.]

[P.16(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

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372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
shelter is not practised except in lower Chir-
● [243] ripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash
crop is developing. It must be remembered
that the principal diet of these people con-
sists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to
preserve tubers for eating once they are pick-
[415] ed. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
hung on rafters, occasionally in bark contain-
ers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last
method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes*
during the months they are not in season.
When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in
a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
practised. Here the people depend upon
[262] bananas and plantains during the lean months
which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and
the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the
most esteemed beverage among the Talaman-
can peoples is chocolate. This is the drink
cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths,
Theological Beliefs) and the preferred drink
given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
quence require chocolate. It is also the most
[574] appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give
to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[Text continues top of P.16(B)--Gualist]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The ortho-
dox Talamancan dwelling is large and round
with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often
with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque,"
whether or not there was a fence, housing up
to three hundred people. The Spanish account
furthermore reads:

[Text continues bottom of P.16(B)--Gualist]

[361] [Stone, 1949b, p. 10.]

[De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin
permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se